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Tsenabonpil, was left behind because she had a swollen leg (probably elephantiasis), and it was feared that she would sink the canoe. After people left, she had intercourse with a *kuwiwi* bird, and she gave birth to twin boys, Daror and Damuramurari. When the boys grew up Tsenabonpil told them that they must kill the cannibalistic pig, Luana. After many adventures they succeeded in capturing and killing him. Then the old woman sent some of the hair of the pig, attached to a coconut leaf, to Tabar, to indicate to the Lesu people that the pig had been killed. They returned in their canoes to Tabar, and now Tsenabonpil gave them their totemic structure and all knowledge. She cut marks on a tree to designate the two moieties and then made further markings as she called out the names of all the clans. At the same time she gave them knowledge of magic, of medicine, of all their crafts, and of everything else they now know. After this she and her two sons disappeared.

There is one supposition that Tsenabonpil is still alive, but where she is no one knows, and all the versions of the myth end with her disappearance.[1]

Each clan is associated with a small piece of land, occasionally with a part of a reef, or a passage of water, and sometimes all three. This clan or *tsenalis* ground is owned communally by the clan members, and on it is supposed to dwell a totemic pig or snake (sometimes both), or, in the case of water, a shark. The adjective *tsenalis* is also used to describe the animal, which is friendly to people of its clan, but hostile to those of others. The animal is supposed to have lived on this ground for ever, and it is believed that it will continue to do so.

The following is a list of clans collected in the linguistic

[1] It was quite impossible to get the natives to speculate on their social organization before Tsenabonpil gave them their present structure. She is regarded as the source of all knowledge, and beyond that they do not go.

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returns from the gardens, hot and tired, it is into the sea that he first plunges; after a feast, it is in the sea that he washes his hands. The sea, however, is not just purely utilitarian. It is a frolicing place for both children and adults. The children play in the shallow water just off the reefs, and the adults, a bit further out, lie on the crest of a wave and know the fun of being carried out on it. Lastly, to the native, the sea is a pleasing picture to gaze upon as he sits on the beach.

OWNERSHIP OF RESOURCES

Since from the land and sea come the means of livelihood, the ownership of them is important. There are two kinds of ownership of land, or rather two kinds of land. The clan or *tsinanis* land, on which dwell certain clan animals and the *gas*, has already been mentioned; then there is the remainder of the land, which does not belong to the clan but to the village. The clan land, owned communally by members of the clan, covers only a very small area. From the view-point of economic resources it is the village land which is the most significant. The village stretches for three or four miles along the cleared ground by the sea, and extending inward five or six miles from it is the bush, all of which, with the exception of the clan land, is owned communally by the people of the village. A man and wife may plant their garden wherever there is any uncultivated ground, and there is much to choose from. But they will, if possible, plant the ground that had previously been planted by their parents, and where they had worked in their youth assisting them. If a husband and wife are from the same village they may have gardens on both their parents' ground, provided the ground is fairly close together. If a choice had to be made it would fall on the land formerly planted by the wife's parents. If the man comes from another village, it is, of course, the plot formerly used by his wife's parents which they now

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use. This is an informal custom rather than a rigid rule. Should another person want to plant on the ground, he would usually talk the matter over first with the son or daughter of the person who had formerly planted on it, and invariably he would receive permission to plant. But there is no way of preventing him from planting the ground should he desire to do so without asking permission. The land is considered as belonging to the community, although it is customary for individuals to plant on certain sections of it.

The ownership of the village land is based on the principle of locality, as differing from the ownership of the clan land, which is based upon the principle of kinship. But though a native changes his residence, he does not lose his ownership in the land of the village where he was born. This principle is brought out quite clearly in some recent purchases of land by the Mandated Government. The selling of land is an innovation, brought in by the white Government, principally for the benefit of planters. When any such purchase is made, the consent of all the mature people of the village must be gained. If some village-owned land is sold to the Government, a man born in the village, but who has moved away to another, will return to his own village to receive the part of the payment which is due to him. It is considered that the land of the village where he was born belongs to him, or, as one native put it, to him and his mother, as residence is matrilocal and lineage matrilineal. For a concrete example, a man born at Ambwa married a woman from the village of Libba and went to live there. When some Ambwa land was sold, he went back to get his share in the payment, for, as he explained, this was his mother's village and his. Should any of the Libba land be sold he is not entitled to any of the payment. His children and his wife will receive a share, and sometimes his wife's relatives will give him a small part of the payment, not

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because it is due to him, but because it is a gesture of polite generosity to one who is living in their village.

In the past the land owned by members of the clan had no utilitarian function. It was merely land with which one had close totemic connections and where one's *gas* or double dwelt. It was never planted on or built upon because the native was afraid of the *tsinanis* animals and *gas*. But with the coming of the white man and his coconut plantations this custom has been changed. The native saw the white man plant on the *tsinanis* land and saw also that nothing disastrous happened; so he lost his fear and now plants on it, although he retains his belief in the *gas* and *tsinanis* animals. Sometimes this clan land is too far away from its owners for them to plant it, so people of other clans, who may live close to it, will make their gardens there. If they have a large crop, these people will usually give a portion of it to the real owners, and should the land be sold to the white man, those who have gardens on it are entitled to a share of the payment. But they are not considered the real owners, for while they may have their gardens on the land, they may not bequeath it at their death. The land automatically is bequeathed to the clan descendants of the members who own the land. The ownership of this clan land never passes out of the hands of those members who have totemic and clan association with it.

However, there are ways of circumventing temporarily this traditional rule, and one example of such circumvention came to my notice. A man named Noas, who belonged to the *Tsililia* clan, at the time of his father's death made a payment for his father's clan land (on which he wanted to plant) to the members of his father's clan, which was *Sinpop*, and to which the land would naturally have belonged. At Noas' death the land will go back to the *Sinpop* clan, the members of which will make a return payment to the members of Noas' clan. This is the only case I found in which one individual, rather than a group, was considered an owner,

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423 425 and in discussing it with native informants, they said it was because he paid for it with *tsera*. It has already been noted that land, as a rule, is inherited automatically, and this is the only instance of a "sale" of land (even though a temporary one) between natives.

423 422 While land is communally owned, vegetables, trees, and anything planted on it are individually owned. Thus, if a man plants a tree, this tree and its fruit belong exclusively to him, and at his death will belong to his maternal nephew, or some other clan relative. But the land on which the tree is planted retains its communal ownership.

The same principle holds for the sea. There is no private ownership of rights in fishing. The sea and the reefs are open to all. If a man makes a trap in the shallow water off the reef, the fish in it will belong to him. But anyone can make such a trap in any place.

Thus the land and sea, from which come the means of livelihood for these people, are communally owned, and only the actual fruits of one's labour are private possessions. Objects owned individually are: ornaments, spears, implements, houses, clothes, and currency.

SEASONAL VARIATIONS

221 132 The utilization of these communally owned natural resources for individual needs might be called work. Production is much the same all the year round, and there are very few seasonal variations. The two seasons are: (1) that of the South-East Trade Winds, which is the dry season, and (2) the one of the North-East Monsoon, which brings the rain. The former begins in April and lasts until December. But this is the wet tropics, so that even in the so-called dry season there is usually some rain once every twenty-four hours, most frequently in the night. During the rainy season there is less fishing and a slight lessening in general outdoor

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Another kinship pattern is that
183 upon the divorce of parents a child stays with its mother.
586 But even to this we find an exception, as when Maso married another man, her child, a little girl, stayed with her father and his second wife. So there are modifications even in the supposedly rigid kinship patterns.

183 In the realm of economics it is easy to see the same kind
423 of variations. For instance, although land is communally owned, I found one case where the rule was circumvented to suit the needs and desires of one individual, and a payment made for the temporary private ownership of a piece of land.[1]

183 An individual finds much expression in group-life, and following traditional patterns of behaviour, such as dancing
342 and wailing, but all individuals do not experience these religious emotions equally. Also, in other ways, the individual has ways of expression peculiar to himself. For instance, although all the houses of the village look alike, each with its bamboo walls, its thatched roof, and the beaten ground as a floor, yet closer observations reveal differences. A few houses have carving on the door; a few others have two rooms instead of the usual one; and others have been made particularly convenient with commodious shelves; and the owner becomes quite attached to his own house. When Pulong was ill and resting in another house, she was homesick for her own dwelling.[2]

183 We have seen how every man fishes, hunts pigs, builds
555 his house, and cleans the bush ground for his garden, and how every woman plants the garden and cooks; yet this seeming lack of specialization does not prevent Tukan from being more skilled than the other men at fishing and becoming known for this particular skill, nor Ongas from being able to build houses better than anyone else, and also famed for this skill, nor Pulong from becoming known for her ability to prepare taro in a special way, and Manumat

[1] See pp. 159–160.

[2] See pp. 253–255.

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

the inhabitants of the east coast of New Ireland, from Kavieng to Karu, a district for many reasons eminently suitable for the study in question. In the first place, it had always been, and still is, one of the most important centres in the Territory for the recruiting of native labour. Scattered along its coast are many of the most flourishing plantations in New Guinea, the owners of which depend on local natives for the bulk of their labour supply—a dependence specially marked just now owing to the depression in the copra market, which compels industrial organizations to observe the greatest economy. The immediate advantage to the planter of local labour over labour recruited from other parts of the Territory is the saving of recruiting fees, passage moneys, transport and incidental costs through his being able to secure the natives he requires from the villages around his plantation, and the advantages to the native population of being able to place its available workers on some plantation near their villages are obviously so great that everything should be done to encourage conditions that make it possible. A further inducement to the studying of the population in this region is the position that has lately arisen owing to an increasing European interest in local lands for agricultural purposes, resulting during the last few years in numerous applications for leaseholds, of which many were being held in abeyance until an inquiry could be made into the future land requirements of the native inhabitants. In German times considerable areas of land were alienated and freehold grants given to European planters, who utilized these rights to such advantage that here and there along the coast are numerous productive and exceedingly valuable coco-nut plantations. The land in the district is suitable for the cultivation of coco-nuts. It is traversed from end to end by a road good enough for motor traffic. It has a large population, the climate is excellent, and there are several anchorages in convenient centres where small steamers are able to pick up copra—the very conditions to encourage European settlement. Now arises a question which cannot be determined until a close survey has been made of the population itself; i.e., whether in the interests of the natives and their future requirements any further land should be alienated, a point of especial importance since the natives themselves now own coco-nut groves, which they are being encouraged to extend, while at the same time they are receiving instruction from officials of the Department of Agriculture in the planting and maintaining of such properties.

Just as in matters of land and labour, so in the question of trade, the natives are brought closely into contact with the European population. It is to the European that the native sells the products of his coco-nut groves, his surplus native food, pigs, fish, fruit, fowls, eggs and in some places trochas-shell, snail shell and bêche-de-mer, for which he receives in return money, rice and other European foods, and trade

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

Fatmilak there are numerous sub-divisions which appear to have an important bearing in matters relating to land. The place of the sub-division in the life of the people between Kavieng and Fatmilak is a subject for further investigation. 614

However small its place in the groups north of Fatmilak, the sub-division of the people between Limalaua and Karu plays a most important part in social organization, culture and economic and land transactions. It constantly crops up in the mythology, and appears to be the unit of all important social phenomena. The sub-division may be an earlier form of social organization than the dual grouping into which the numerous sub-divisions are now divided. In the bush group of Limalaua I was given vague information to the effect that the sub-divisions of the eagle *minungak* are also sub-divisions of *ilok*, a black bush bird, and that the sub-divisions of the hawk *yarangam* are sub-divisions of *kugigama* an owl, but I had neither the time nor the opportunity to discover exactly what this meant.

During land inquiries held by me a whole series of stories was revealed, connected with the mythical origin of some of the sub-divisions, the members of which are now widely dispersed, some of them far from the villages where the groups are said to have originated. When land has to be bought from natives, claimants spring up from every direction, many of them far away from the land in question. The stories also account for certain migratory movements of the members of the sub-divisions, and shed an interesting light on such factors as inter-marriage and fission in the dispersal and distribution of social groupings. 773 614

The social groupings, therefore, to which an individual has definite obligations are his sub-division, his clan, his totem, his place of residence and his village or political unit, each of which plays an important part in regulating his material and cultural life. 614 624

Between Fatmilak and Karu the land appears to be owned by the sub-divisions or sub-groups, and each member of a sub-group appears to have vague individual rights to certain portions of the land of his group. He has, for instance, the right to allow any person, either of his own or the opposite clan, to make a garden on his land, which privilege, on the death of the holder, is subsequently inherited by his sister's children and own children. He has also the right to allow any person to plant coco-nut trees or any other useful trees on the land, and these trees may also be inherited as above. No person, however, appears to be able to dispose of any land without the consent of the other members of his sub-group, and, when payment is eventually made for the land purchased, all persons sharing in the benefits of the land share also in the purchase money. This is paid to the sub-group owners, and by them distributed according to their obligations. 423 614 [428]

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423 People enjoying the use of land belonging to a sub-group different from
614 their own invariably make presents of food and coco-nuts at different times to the owners of the land.

614 So widely distributed sometimes are the members of the sub-groups, that it is no uncommon thing during the investigation of a land-matter to find claimants living in villages a great distance from the ground in question.

428 In one pedigree investigated at Madina a man of that place named Arakai, inherited the ground and personal belongings of his father, who had no sister. Arakai also inherited the ground and belongings of his mother's brother, Aulim, although Aulim had a son. The property inherited from Aulim, however, was shared with the son. Usually before he dies, a man makes known his wishes regarding the disposition of property. Arakai, who has no children, has already
[562] told every one that on his death Tapua, the son of his sister, is to have his land and property. Women also appear to inherit ground.

In Letatan, a bush group living below Lassu, it was said that property is inherited by own children and sister's children.

During a land investigation at Lasigi and Konagnusgnus payment for land sold to a European was claimed by surviving members of the sub-group of the deceased land-owners. In all these cases claimants proved genealogical relationship. Shares in the payment were also claimed by the children and grandchildren of the dead men and the grandchildren of their brothers (these deceased land-owners had no sisters).

423 In a land investigation held at Lassu for the purpose of buying a
432 piece of land that the natives had agreed to sell, the following information was collected.

614 The area involved was owned by eight different sub-groups, each of which held one portion. A portion known as Pari was owned by the sub-group Pari; Langhalu was owned by Pagali sub-group; Kanawi was owned by Samkila sub-group; Roroi was owned by Roroi sub-group (the survivors of which lived at Langinia); Panula was owned by Sililia sub-group; Dangkolong was owned by Mauga sub-group; Mimilnat was owned by Solemba sub-group, and Lanluminandigo was owned by Tupila sub-group.

The surviving members of these sub-groups claimed payment. Some of them lived in villages many miles away from the ground, but all of them proved genealogical relationship with persons about three generations back to whom the various portions then belonged. Other claimants belonging to sub-groups different from those said to be the owners, and many belonging even to the opposite clan, then appeared, contending that, as their ancestors or parents had been permitted by the early owners to plant food or economic trees on various lots within

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the portions concerned—a privilege which they and their descendants would now lose—they too were entitled to some compensation. A discussion of the position was held in the presence of the principal men of the villages concerned, and the methods of payment were arranged as follow:— 423 432 614

The recognized principal man of each sub-group was to receive the full amount of payment for the portion sold. This was to be distributed by him among the members of the sub-group; they in turn would then share it with the members of other sub-groups and the members of the opposite clan, who by the sale had been deprived of the privileges granted to their ancestors and parents by the former owners.

During another investigation made at Fatmilak into the distribution of moneys paid by the Government some time ago for the purchase of land in that district, I found confirmation of the rules laid down at the Lassu discussion. The full amount of purchase money had been divided by the principal men among the surviving members of the sub-groups owning the land sold; each of these persons in turn had fulfilled the obligations incurred (gifts of garden land, &c.) by the earlier owners. For this purpose payment of a share of the money received was made to each of the members of the other sub-groups and people of the opposite clan, who by the sale of the ground had been deprived of the privileges granted to their ancestors and parents.

In all of these transactions the children of a man shared with the sister's children.

A further distribution on similar lines will take place at Madina when the Madina plantation land is eventually paid for. The ownership of this land was investigated by me, and the following information was recorded. This should be checked by the District Officer when the purchase is being made:—

MADINA LAND.

Portion Tauoro—Belongs to clan Haruk, sub-group, Panawotlas. Principal men: Milalang of Madina; Kamat of Fatmilak; Rombui, female of Fatmilak. In this transaction it is said that Milalang will distribute the purchase money among the Madina members of the Haruk clan who are entitled to it, and the two Fatmilak members of the same clan. These people will then share the money with other persons entitled to compensation.

Portion Panabakbak—Belonging to Mangaf clan, sub-group, Pallik. Principal men: Agot of Madina; Pitilot of Lugagan; Mamoka and Bawas (both of Madina who will distribute purchase money among the persons entitled).

Portion Monariba.—Belonging to clan Arigaum, sub-groups, Tabik and Mabu. Principal men: Kunak of Tabar and Tamela of Madina. In this case Kunak being absent Tamela will receive the purchase money, and will distribute it as required.

Portion Panagaramut—Belonging to clan Adau, sub-group, Panalile. Principal man, Bato of Madina, who will receive the purchase money and distribute it.

423 Porton Nosi—Belonging to clan Balus, sub-group, Lamis. Principal man, Arkai of Madina and later of Laraibin, who will receive the purchase money and
432 distribute it according to custom.
614 Portion Porokalaman—Belonging to clan Babanga, sub-group, Savinu. Principal man, Lamani of Madina, who will receive the purchase money and distribute it in accordance with custom. In this case the Luluai of Luaupul and Arakai of Madina are entitled to a share as compensation for gifts of ground made by the original owners to their ancestors and parents, the Luluai of Luaupul being the son of the sister of Lombu, the last owner of the ground. Lombu, before he died, permitted the father of Arakai to plant and use part of the ground.

Portion Seladara—Belonging to Munungak clan. Principal man, Kauavek of Madina, who will distribute it among the people entitled. In this case, two women of Lugagun share in the purchase money.

Portion Lemagaf—Belonging to clan Arigaum. Names of principal men not given.

Portion Naberabera—Belonging to clan Balus. Names of principal men not given.

The last two portions belong to people of Luaupul, who were not present at the inquiry, and regarding whose ownership the people of Madina were unable to give me particulars.

142 Physically the people of the East coast are of medium height and robust build. They are woolly-haired and brown-eyed; the skin colour varies from light to dark brown, many being almost black; usually the cheek bones are prominent; in many cases the nose is concave and deep-rooted below prominent brow ridges, but a straight or convex nose is frequently seen. There is little prognathism. Many of the men and women are distinctly pleasant faced. Usually the hair is
[302] bleached with lime, and worn fairly short in well-combed frizzy mops. In the vicinity of Kandan I saw bald-headed old men wearing neatly made wigs of human hair twisted into short ringlets. There are many
[143] fair-haired people with brick-red skin who were said to have been born thus, and two or three cases of true albinism were found.

226 The coastal people fish with spears, nets and lines. In many places they go out into deep water in canoes, and catch sharks by the noose and rattle method that has been described before. Shark fishing expeditions are attended with considerable magical preparation. Representations of sharks appear in the carved portions of the canoe. Small fish for bait are caught secretly at night "so that sharks will not know what is threatening them." No one but the fisherman sees this going on. The operation involves certain sacrifices on the part of those engaged in it, such as food tabu, keeping away from women, &c. The expedition starts at break of dawn, before any one else is awake. The canoe men watch their opportunity and shoot out through the breakers. They make their way right out to sea looking for timber and drift wood washed out by the rains. Here small fish gather together in large numbers and attract the sharks. The rattles are sounded and the sharks thinking it is the noise made by sea birds

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unless the native officials have the confidence of their people. Any system lacking these conditions would lead to extortion, &c., and ultimately create general depression wherever faults existed.

Given a suitable staff of native officials and thorough supervision, local administration by native representatives is, in my opinion, eminently suited to the present condition of native development. The whole population is thus divided into a number of relatively discreet groups, each of which attends to its local affairs and leaves serious matters to the supervising district officials for adjustment. This keeps the district officials intimately in touch with the pulse of their district and enables them to detect in its earliest stage any element likely to threaten the general harmony of the district. Especially will it keep their attention constantly on the sensitive chain binding together the interests of European and native residents, on the stability of which depends the future of the population.

LAND ALIENATION.

In considering the question whether the land available is sufficient for the needs of the population one is hampered at the outset by the absence of reliable information as to the area now remaining the property of any particular village. All we have to guide us is the map of the district, which shows the area of alienated land and leaves the balance as village-owned land. But how this area is distributed amongst the village groups that inhabit the road we cannot tell, as village areas are not surveyed. In some cases, especially between Madina and Kavieng, there does not appear to be a very great area of suitable ground available for native garden expansion, and within this boundary in one or two places, where alienated land thrusting to the coast divides village-owned land, people are forced to walk through plantations to reach their gardens lying beyond. In certain cases, too, the close proximity of planted areas to villages has led to the destruction of village pigs whose owners have failed to keep them from straying on the plantations. In any case, in the absence of a survey of lands now remaining the property of natives, it is not desirable that any further alienation of coastal land shall take place between Kavieng and Malom, and in the event of applications being received for land between Malom and Karu a thorough investigation should be made in regard to the general needs of the villagers before such applications be considered.

ROADS.

One of the most important factors in the welfare of these people is time and opportunity for garden work. Under present conditions each village has a certain mileage of road to keep in order for motor traffic. I am of opinion that the question of road work should form the subject of a special inquiry by the District Officer, especially as to the proportion allotted to each village in relation to its able-bodied